

POLITICAL INSANITY
OF
INDIA

BY
N. H. VAKEEL

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FOR

The Past—criticism.

The Present—an earnest *plea* to
return to sanity and aim at unity.

The Future—a *plan* to end the
deadlock.

FOREWORD

Dr. Vakeel has requested me to write a Foreword to this Book. As the author belongs to a minority community (Parsi) which although consisting of less than two lacs in the whole of India has produced great political leaders, industrialists and businessmen, it is desirable that the public should know what persons like Dr. Vakeel who are not wedded to any political party think of the present political problems and future of India.

Dr. Vakeel has attempted to analyse the causes of the present political chaos in the country apportioning blame for its existence between the Congress, the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha and the British Government. In his opinion, want of proper leaders, existence of racial intolerance, lure of power on the part of various parties, the application of the principle of democratic electorate and the clamour for Pakistan are the main reasons for the chaos in the country. One is inclined to agree with a good deal of his analysis in this part of his book although it contains some inaccuracies owing to Dr. Vakeel being not thoroughly acquainted with the modern political evolution of India.

Dr. Vakeel stands for the unity of India. He is entirely against the dismemberment of the country. His criticism of the policy of the Congress Ministries in 8 Provinces when they were in power is quite fair. Dr. Vakeel's comments on the demand of the Muslims for Pakistan are illuminating. The Congress Ministries had a splendid opportunity of uniting all elements and interests in the country if they had behaved with due consideration and understanding of the points of view of those outside their fold. They failed to realise that the very soul of democracy lay in compromise and adjustment. They treated all opposition with contempt and made the Ministries responsible to an outside coterie instead of being responsible to the legislature and the electorate. It was their behaviour when in power that alarmed the minorities. It can be truly said that the creed of Pakistan would not have come into being but for the autocratic behaviour of the Congress in power. Instead of laying the foundations of genuine democracy, they demonstrated that unadulterated democracy, that is the rule of the party getting a majority at the polls, was not suited under existing circumstances when parties are based not on principles but on religion and sectional interests.

The British Government also must be held largely responsible for the present political chaos in the country. Their policy of exploitation and step-motherly treatment of India has created a deep-rooted distrust. Not only did they neglect the industrial development of the country but in some cases actually hampered it. For 30 years and more, they imposed an iniquitable Excise Duty on the growing Textile Industry of India in order that Lancashire goods may sell in the country. When the Act of 1935 was passed they refused even to state in the Preamble of the Act that Dominion Status was the political goal of India. They declined to accept even the modest proposals that were unanimously made by the Indian delegates to the Parliamentary Committee headed by H.H. the Aga Khan. One has only to look at the provisions for the safeguarding of vested British interests in India that disfigure the Act of 1935 to realise their attitude towards India. They never paid any heed to the constant demand of the country for indianisation of the Army in India. A scheme for that purpose that was formulated by a Committee headed by Lord Rawlinson which would have accomplished the indianisation within a short period was pigeon-holed. * If the declaration of August, 1940 had been made on the outbreak of

the War, Indian feeling might have been different. Past history has created such distrust in the promises and professions of the British Government that they are not accepted at their face value. If India had been trusted and had been industrialised and made fit for defence, she would have been of the greatest help to the United Nations in winning the War.

That India has missed the bus more than once one is prepared to concede. Had India accepted and worked the Constitution however unsatisfactory embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, in the right spirit, the unity of India would have been already an accomplished fact. If in the years between 1932 and 1939, the leaders of India had realised that the establishment and preservation of the unity of India were of fundamental importance and that the transfer of power from Great Britain to India was only a question of time, as it was inevitable, they would have certainly accepted and worked the Constitution avoiding various new problems and complications which have arisen during recent years. The same mistake was committed in dealing with the Cripps Proposals. It is a pity that even now some leaders do not realise that the attainment of unity is the first essential for the attainment of independence for

India. They say, let us have independence and then we will settle with all interests and groups and attain unity. Today, there is a veritable threat by the advocates of Pakistan, Bangastan, Dravidstan, Rajastan and Harijanstan to dismember India completely and thus demolish the vision of a united and prosperous India to be developed on a well-thought-out conscious planning.

Dr. Vakeel's proposals for solving the political deadlock in India are novel and unusual. They are mostly based on the Swiss model where all the different nationalities, French, Germans, Italian, etc. share the legislature and the executive in certain proportions. He thinks that by adoption of such a scheme, the various communities and interests in India will be interdependent and will, therefore, work for the common good and not in the interests of one community or the other. Such a scheme postulates that the different communities are and must remain in perpetual conflict. Some such scheme for sharing power may be necessary for some time in the beginning till confidence is restored but to make it a permanent feature will perpetuate the evils which Dr. Vakeel himself denounces. His scheme overlooks the fact that the future Government of India will in course of time be a Government by experts and that racial and

religious considerations will be thrown into the background by economic considerations. Dr. Vakeel has been mostly influenced by the immediate causes of the political chaos in India but it is essential to find a long-range solution.

When the world is trying to integrate, India is tending towards disintegration. This is the most deplorable fact of the day. India is one and must remain one and all communities and interests must be adequately sheltered within it. It is not beyond the wit of Indians, given goodwill and co-operation amongst different sections of the people, to devise a Constitution for India that would meet the demands of the different sections of the people including the Princes, disabuse the minds of the minority communities and establish mutual confidence amongst the different communities and interests and maintain the unity of the country. The solution of the present deadlock has, in my view, to be sought not in perpetuating and widening the present divisions but in trying effectively to eradicate them by taking measures to reassure the minorities that their economic, religious and cultural interests will be fully secured and they will get their due and effective voice in the administration of the country under the future Constitution for India.

CHIMANLAL H. SETALVAD

Bombay, 28th January, 1943.

PREFACE

All that is found in this little book is stated with the honest belief that it is the truth, and the strain of censure which runs through the whole book is meant to be purely against political parties and organizations and none of it against any community. Because, the Indian Congress is made up of 99% Hindus, and the Muslim League is cent. per cent. Muslims, the Congress is called Hindu Congress and the League of course Muslim. Everyone, however, knows that amongst the Indian people there are millions of Hindus that are not Congressites, and millions again of Muslims are not Leaguites. And, when the Briton is criticized, that again does not mean that it is the British people, who, the writer thinks, after a long and intimate contact with them, are a most likeable and reliable people in the world, once you know and understand them, but who, like ourselves, have faults, and once again, like us, have sinned against India's interests.

Nor is the following criticism made purely for the sake of criticism (Heaven knows we have had quite enough of that by now). It is intended as a resume of the many sins of commission and

omission against India, and these lie at the doors of us all. Besides, it shows how futile mere criticism is, and that we must solve the problem by putting forward innumerable constructive plans ourselves to end this present deadlock. One attempt for solving Provincial autonomy which is likely to bring all communities together is made by the writer here and he leaves it to the reader's judgment for merit or condemnation. He thinks that Federation must automatically follow such Provincial autonomy, and on the same principle, if the plan be accepted in its broad outlines if not in its entirety. For such a Revised Federal Assembly and the establishment of a complete Dominion Status, plans and suggestions are put forward.

To change a nation's constitution in critical times, when an enemy is at the gate is an experiment fraught with danger and disaster; but this is the right time and the right opportunity to make plans for the change of the constitution in future, once the war is over. As Barrie says, a second opportunity and an outspoken word never come back.

Today, the world's eyes are on India. Whilst the present state of politics in this country is confounding and bewildering her own children, how

much more confusing, indeed, must it be to the other peoples of the world! The contents of this little book are addressed to my own countrymen. Incidentally however, they may provide, to any one else who cares to know and understand in a sympathetic way, a short synopsis of the many factors that have contributed to the making of the present unhappy and critical state of Indian political history.

If all the indictment, and the suggestions and earnest prayer for unity and peace, contained in this little book will go to produce, even in a small measure, this much-needed unity, the author will consider himself amply rewarded. The criticism herein is not meant to hurt feelings, but, by seeing ourselves as others see us, to convince us all, Indians and British alike, that by our faults in the way of selfishness, greed, ambitions and strife, we have inflicted on India untold misery and it behoves us to repair this injury.

“No outside criticism touches us so keenly as the censure of the higher self on the self that fell.”

Anstey Lodge,
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N. H. VAKEEL.

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POLITICAL INSANITY OF INDIA

On the 11th of February, 1780, Edmund Burke, speaking in the House of Commons, said, "At present all is troubled and cloudy and distracted, full of anger and turbulence both abroad and at home; but the air may be cleared and light and fertility may follow it." This is a correct word picture of the political atmosphere of India today. Many of her sons and daughters are painfully conscious of the fact that, the political soul of India has gone insane!—Is there a chance of a cure? It is difficult to answer. The infirmity is reaching a chronic stage from which deliverance is day by day getting a matter of great difficulty. Wherever there is insanity there is chaos, there are incoherent acts and much more frequently incoherent utterances. While reason and argument sink to a low level, mulish obstinacy, abusive language and violence prevail. All this has happened, and is happening, before our eyes today in the political field of India.

CAUSES OF THE CHAOS

Various reasons have contributed to the existence, prolongation and accentuation of this mad and chaotic condition in Indian Politics.

Leaders

First and foremost is the complete absence in the political arena today of leaders of real merit, strong commonsense and sterling patriotism, stirred by a fervent desire to do good to their country without any favour or prejudice towards any community great or small. Most of the leaders we find today are selfish. They are either working with an eye for their community's welfare or for their own personal interest, and so the masses are not inspired.

Intolerance

There is today, as of yore, an in-born racial and religious intolerance in the two major communities of India, breaking out every now and again in communal riots. This cleavage, however, has now gradually extended its tentacles from the religious to the political and economical arenas. Never have the two communities been so close together as during the height of the Khilafat Movement—never have they been so widely apart as they are today.

The Lure of Power

The desire for domination and an ambition for a perpetual and preponderating grasp of power on the part of the Hindu Congress culminated

in a deep-rooted suspicion in practically every other community great, small or indifferent, and has produced in its train another equally ambitious and dangerous addition in the demand of Pakistan by the Muslim League.

Democratic Electorate Slogan

The obstinacy of the Congress in asking for a Democracy or Dominion Status for the Country with an electorate system similar to those of the other members of the British Commonwealth, overlooks the fact that those other members, unlike India, are endowed with peoples of homogeneous religion, race, culture and civilization. The Congress knows from experience of former elections, both provincial and municipal, that it is to the advantage of itself and its community to stick to the slogan of "one man, one vote" without reservation of seats for any community. After what happened when Provincial Governments fell into Congress hands by the mere counting of heads, and the none too good a treatment extended to the other communities, this suspicion has been replaced by a feeling almost of dread, in all non-Hindu communities, for things to come, if by any chance, at any time, the British be forced to foist their own electoral system on the future political machinery of India.

Pakistan

The most confounding of the confusions which has disturbed the equilibrium of Political India is that dangerous doctrine of Pakistan introduced in the midst of an already large heap of discontent and disagreement. When a great and illustrious Mussalman poet, of revered memory, coined the word Pakistan, so sweet to the ear, little did he dream that it would cause an ocean of dissension amongst his countrymen! It was at first believed and hoped that this measure on the part of the Muslim League was an artful one to counter-balance the growing weakness of the British Government in yielding to the demands of the Congress to the detriment of the interests of non-Hindu communities when Provincial Government passed into Congress hands. Later, however, it was discovered that the Pakistan Scheme did not turn out to be a plan to temporarily cozen the gullible and offer a challenge to the Congress. This it really and effectively did ; but slowly and surely it is now proceeding on its way to poison the minds of millions of Muslims into accepting Pakistan as the *only* solution to the deadlock and fog shrouding the political atmosphere of this land.

To the minds of millions upon millions of Indians it is a plan that will lead to a sure and

certain disintegration of India, and form the most disruptive element ever introduced for the sake of communal gain of a doubtful value, shattering into smithereens all that has been attempted and done in ages past to make India a united whole both by the "satanic" British on the one hand, and India's own sons as Dadabhoy, Gokhale, Bannerjee, Mehta and Tata on the other. It will accentuate tenfold the minority problem. When some time back, a very prominent member of the Muslim League was asked a direct question as to what would happen if the Hindu majority, say in the Province of Bombay, badly treated the Muslim minority, he replied promptly, and rather tactlessly, "Why, in that case we shall certainly retaliate by oppressing the Hindus in the land of Pakistan." What a picturesque prospect! And yet, it is the truth in a nutshell. Schemes like Pakistan, the Mahasabha's Hindustan, Bengal's Bangistan and Madras's Dravidistan and scores of others to follow in the wake of these, will lead to a plethora of revenges and counter-passions for retaliation. They will, in a volcanic manner, throw up India into bits by dissolving her integrity, so assiduously fostered, after being generated by generations of patriotic men, and make her a common prey for all

aggressive countries that are India's neighbours. Pakistan will lead us back to the days of old—, with a Moghul Rule in the North, and instead of the Peshwas' Rule in the West, we shall have the Rule of the Sabarmati of which the Bombay Presidency at least had a taste, and a bitter taste, for two long years. That is not all. The Indian States around such a divided India will also be hit by severe repercussions, and there shall prevail a desire, or shall we say mania, for divisions amongst them also on communal lines. Thus, the Hindu ruler of Kashmir State will have some difficulty with his majority of Muslim ruled to carve out Kashmir, and Hyderabad will have the same problem *vice versa*. Every other minor state will be inspired to ask for divisions and subdivisions until we shall have as many states and provinces in this country as we have races and religions. Side by side with the great mass of the existing political parties, whose number is already legion, there will crop up others like mushrooms until these reach perhaps astronomical figures.

Again, a very pertinent question can be raised. In case of Pakistan rule, what guarantee is there that the same high-handed autocratic policy towards the minorities of which Mr. Jinnah and myself and millions of others like us have complained against

the Congress rule, will not also be adopted by the Muslim rulers towards the Pakistan minorities? Surely it is within the memory of all of us that misrule, coercion, bribery, looting of rich minorities, even attacks on the persons and chastity of women by rulers and nobilities alike have been notorious landmarks in the histories of former muslim-ruled countries. This, Mr. Jinnah and his thousands of educated friends may not have taken into account because they themselves are highly enlightened and educated, with fine instincts in their characters as a result of British education and the influence of British rule. Even now these two factors are sufficient safeguards against violent transgressions of law and order by certain Muslim States. Examples manifest themselves now and again in Muslim countries beyond India's borders and frontiers untouched by British India's civilizing influence.

The above is by no means a mere chimerical picture of things to come with the fruition of the Pakistan scheme, but it represents a relatively true picture of what will happen. Pakistan certainly is never going to solve the present political unrest in India ; nay, it is accentuating the tension and ill-feeling between the two major communities, and if by any chance it is applied to India, she will be

left a very tragic picture of dismemberment, desolation and disunity. Let us hope, therefore, that reason and love for India and her future alike will make our Muslim friends realize that Pakistan at least is not the cure for India's political difficulties and evils.

Furthermore, the Muslim League's policy towards the minorities in Pakistan is vague and illusive; in short, not defined at all. The League, whenever it suits her purpose to lash the Congress, charges the latter with inconsideration for, and callous disregard of the minorities' interests in Hindu Provinces. When, however, the Hindu minority's rights and privileges in the proposed Pakistan Scheme are considered, the Muslim League forgets that not only are the large and influential and sometimes highly educated Hindu and other minority communities not consulted at all with regards their opinion on the Pakistan Scheme (as the League desires a plebiscite of its own community), but it also does not give any idea of what this Muslim Rule Constitution of the future is going to be like, and what guarantee is there to be, in such a rule, for the rights and privileges of the Hindus and other influential minorities to be respected, and what share are these to have in the government of Pakistan? Surely,

the League cannot claim the privilege of justice and fair play, herself rendering none to others !

The League is courting a very serious political disaster of the future in relegating the interests of the minority Muslims of non-Pakistan provinces to a heap of oblivion. These Muslims, which are millions in number, will have nowhere to turn to for redress of their grievances except to their co-religionists in Pakistan. With the usual bond of religion that has in the past ever kept the Muslims of this country united, Pakistan will therefore seek to threaten reprisals on the Hindus in Muslim-governed Provinces if the non-Pakistan States do not forthwith grant all that Islam there will ask for. Thus, there will be friction between the different provinces, Hindu and Muslim, with again the minority problem on the war-front. What is said about the possible revolt of the Muslims in Hindu Provinces may be enacted with equal vigour by the Hindu minorities in the Pakistan Provinces, with the result that we shall then have a vicious circle again created with the minority problem worse than ever before. Worse, because all the states are to be "Independent" and if peace is not obtained by constitutional means, will it then be bought by a clash of arms ?

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The difficulties, moreover, of governing Pakistan without an active co-operation and equal partnership of the Hindu and other minorities will be found a very difficult task by the Muslims. It may be argued that the Mohamedans have been governing the Muslim States of India now for generations past,—Hyderabad and Bhopal being cited as notable examples. If so, why not Pakistan the same way? True, but in these States, where for years a kind of beneficent monarchical regime has existed, the people's outlook on political life is very different from the Pakistan minorities, who have now been accustomed to a more or less democratic type of government and who will insist on the granting of minority rights on very bold lines which may be a very embarrassing problem for the Mohamedan rulers of Pakistan, and this much desired kingdom may not after all prove to be such a beautiful bird in a gilded cage as it appears at present.

The Congress

To declare that Congress, during her long and chequered career has done nothing to advance the cause of freedom is as much a travesty of truth as to say that it has done no harm to India's fight for national government. It is Congress and

Congress alone to whom India owes the quickening of the pace for freedom's fight and the awakening from a lethargic political state in which the country had been slumbering for generations. In this adventure the part taken by the great stalwarts of the past, although not of that spectacular and of a lime-light nature as played by the modern Congress, has yet been of no mean degree. Congress has also undoubtedly suffered for the cause but the suffering could have been greatly mitigated if it had tempered its erratic career by reason and tact. Its mass movements have been often wild and unreasonable and have on various occasions recoiled against its own interests and those of the country. Some few leaders in the organization are undoubtedly guided by purely patriotic sentiments for the struggle. There is, however, a large mass, and an overwhelming mass of Congressmen, that is saturated with communal selfishness and led by men tainted with the same brush. Most of these are anti-British, a large part of them anti-Muslim and a smaller portion altogether anti-minorities with the result that the organization has undoubtedly become suspect in the eyes of many millions of Indians and of all the British.

Various have been the opportunities, most unfortunately lost, by not consolidating distinct political gains acquired by immense labour and great sacrifice. The greatest of all opportunities lost, and of which more is said hereafter, are the many that were allowed to slip by during the 1937-39 Provincial Rule Regime. The mighty wave of pride and of great expectations that thrilled the country from end to end in 1937 at seeing the rule of the provinces transferred to Indian hands were liquidated in 1939 by a sense of keen disappointment at the poor success of the regime, and there was profound relief amongst large masses of the population of the provinces when the regime had ended. There was at that time, one grieves to say, a gulf of intense ill-feeling between the Congress and non-Hindu communities of every kind and creed. There was also bitter resentment amongst many Hindus themselves at the arbitrary method of the ruling of the Congress which is described here later. Whilst all this was going on, Congress had found a strange lover in the shape of the Indian Government at Delhi, making the minorities bewildered and angry in turn. This "flirtation," came to an abrupt end when Congress, ever seeking for an opportune moment to pay back old scores, saw one in the

war. It saw England weak and threatened. This was the time when it thought a great deal of confusion would be inevitable if Congress resigned from its office as rulers of Provinces. How this movement did not gain its object or secured momentum is related later on in the book. At this stage, however, another powerful organisation, ever antagonistic to Congress, played its trump-card and succeeded. The Muslim League, for the first time brought into light a monster proposal which quickly took shape and then action. In short "Pakistan" was born and rapidly went through the processes of growth from infancy to childhood and from childhood to adolescence. When Congress found that the non-co-operation movement did not succeed, and the Muslim League was finding favour in Delhi Government circles, it grew restless. The climax arrived with the exhibit of the Cripps proposals which did yield to the Muslim League a shadow and no more than a shadow of Pakistan. Thereafter Congress lost all restraint. Abuses and threats followed, and this country was once more plunged at a critical time of the world's history into a rebellious state. The British Government's attitude towards the Congress organization has stiffened. Congress need not flatter itself if it finds America and China

sympathetic towards its cause. These countries are thinking not so much in terms of freedom-loving sentiments for the Asiatic as of the disaster to the cause of the Allies, for India has unfortunately become a pivot of one of the many planks from which the offensive has to be carried on against the Japanese menace to the Eastern world. America herself is full of anti-Asiatic legislation and anti-negro bias. Today, India is great in the estimation of the world not as a result of her politicians' methods but for the great part that she has played everywhere in the war-field. Looking back, one wonders if this profound impression created by the valour of the Indian soldier and seaman in the battle-field, had also been backed up by every community of India in the way of an all-out effort by the civilians, then, would not India's position today have been a million times stronger for her aspirations to be achieved? For then, the whole world would have been up in arms against Britain if she had not promised all that India wanted. This, out of conviction and gratitude alike. As it is, however, the path is made more difficult and we shall have to tread the road to progress with weary steps. There is only one way out of this maze of difficulties and that way is one of unity amongst ourselves and friendship

with Britain. That appears to be the only lighted way, while others would lead into darkness.

Missed Opportunities

One of the greatest factors in this "pot-pourri" of political confusion is the utter failure of the Congress Governments to win over the minorities by a wise, tactful, tolerant rule when they had their first and only chance of their life from 1937-39, a rule such as would have completely and irrevocably confounded all enemies of self-rule in India and laid such a sure foundation of an Independent India that no British Government out of fairness and justice, born of conviction, would have denied it her. Instead, what happened is now history. The Congress treated the views, social and political as well as educational, of the minorities, with great and unmitigated contempt in and outside the legislatures, instead of with respect and consideration. No matter how competent and experienced these minority leaders may have been, no matter what important minorities they represented, minorities, whose high education and civilization, whose contribution to the interests of India in every sphere of life,—industrial, social, political, military, economic or educative, have

been acknowledged without reserve, all these and many highly respected and influential Hindu leaders who have grown grey in the service of their country—one and all who did not agree with the Congress policy were treated like so much dirt! If there was some “National” policy propounded, such a policy rarely included minority interest and never invited minority opinion. Glaring examples were their contemplated Educational policy, the passing of the Act of Prohibition, and imposition of the Property-Tax in the Bombay Provincial Legislature.

One of the most unjust taxations in the Bombay Provincial Legislature for saving the souls of a few low-class Hindus from inebriation was the iniquitous Property-Tax which roused the fury of the two important Presidency communities—the Muslims and the Parsis. Great Trust Funds were badly hit, private individuals and charities suffered, thousands of the poor of many communities were thrown out of employment and all this for what? Just to fish out a few drunken souls from Provincial gutters! These were almost all from the Majority Community and not even 2% from these very minorities mentioned above, and still, the tax collected for putting the Prohibition Act into effect was more than half from these

communities—thus adding insult to injury. As a result, a life-long friendship between the two communities of Hindus and Parsis was broken for the first time. These two communities had *always* been great friends, working hand in hand for the promotion of industries, commerce, education, charities and sport—more often than not the little community giving a handsome lead to her bigger sister; and now, alas, this great harmony is but too rudely shaken. This bad blood was manifest in every sphere of life—politics, the press, mill-employment, municipal Corporations, elections at company board-meetings, banks, sports and even private friendships. Was it a wise political policy on the part of the Congress to deliberately create such feelings of unfriendliness and mistrust in two such leading communities of the Province, Muslims and Parsis, especially the Muslims? Had things been otherwise in this and other provinces the Pakistan Scheme would never have been born. The Congress is indirectly the creator of this unfortunate Muslim demand—her policy has been the “fons et origo” of a difficult situation.

Congress vis-a-vis the war

If any one factor more than another has unnerved all wise-thinking, level-headed, practical

Indians for a transfer of power to this country (*with INDEPENDENCE writ large*), not only at the present critical time, but even for some little time hereafter, it is the strange behaviour of the Congress *vis-a-vis* the War—their many acts of childishness and irresponsibility, their almost insane demand for independence just at a time when super-independent mighty nations of the world are literally hugging each other for dependence, their illogical statements about “non-violent, non-co-operative action against aggressor nations,” their lip-sympathy towards Russia and China, and their practical sympathy towards Japan by the dangerous methods of non-co-operation and mass Civil Disobedience Movements.

And if today, perchance, the rule of this country passed entirely into Indian hands these are the very people in whose hands power would be found. Is there any guarantee that those heroes or their dependents that have shed and are shedding lustre on India's good name—the heroes and fighters of Abyssinia and Libya, the unfortunate martyrs of Malaya, Burma, Singapore and Hong Kong—such, as have given their blood and all for the sake of their country and the Empire, or again, those nearer home who have worked day after day and month after month, worked and

suffered to give out from their purses, small and great, crores of rupees, who have toiled with their muscles and their brains to run the war, those men and women who have tended to the comforts of the wounded and the war-weary relatives of such who have indelibly inscribed their names on the Scroll of Honour, all with a smile, when their own hearts have been gripped with terror and depression at hearing a long list of disasters day by day—I say, what guarantee is there, on the transfer of such power, that even a modicum of justice will be done to such as these, whenever the future destiny of this country is placed on the political anvil? Will those American citizens and the British Labour Parliamentarians who are guided by rule of thumb for establishing democracies all over the world *on their own models*, think a while and try to make a long and serious study of the thousand and one problems that confront us here at home in the achievement of our ambition!

With the rest of the world which thought that Britain's neck would be wrung by Germany a few weeks after France capitulated, Congress agreed, and from that time on it immediately and consistently started its black-mailing tactics and attitude towards Britain. With Britain, so weak, and Congress at the height of its power, it thought it

would play its trump-card. But the chicken's neck survived very handsomely the test of a twist, and Congress, to its bitter chagrin, realized that there were other Indian patriots, away from its fold, who took a different view from its own in matters of duty and love for one's country. These were convinced that black-mailing was the game of a coward. So, very soon the brave and the stalwart amongst them volunteered in their thousands and their lakhs ready to spill their blood and give their lives for home and country, and these men, of whom any Indian ought to have been proud, Mr. Gandhi to his eternal shame, dubbed as mercenaries ! Men about whom a British Commander-in-Chief of renown—Wavell—said the following in words never to be forgotten:—

“Today thousands of young Indian Officers and over a million men have joined up to support India's magnificent pre-war Army, which has already played so great a part in the land struggle. The Indian Navy and Air Force are growing in numbers, in equipment, in skill, in reputation.

The men who broke the Italian line at Sidi Barrani and drove them into headlong rout, the men who stormed the heights of Keren

and Amba Alagi, the men who captured Damascus in face of great odds, the men who fought the rear-guard actions of Malaya and Burma, the men who stood and stand dauntless against Rommel's Germans, the men who now protect India on all fronts from her foes, the men who fight as comrades side by side, whatever their caste and creed—these are the defenders of India in her hour of danger. Rajputs, Mahrattas and Madrassis; the great fighting races of the Punjab; Pathans from the Frontier; Jats and Garhwalis and many others.—men of the north, men of the centre, men of the south, from the whole countryside of India—they fight, together with the sturdy Gurkhas of our Ally, Nepal, alongside British and Allied troops. These are the true representatives of India's nationhood.

The eyes of the world are on India. It is her great trial and great opportunity. It is not politicians intent on domestic issues and quarrels; it is not undisciplined schoolboys; it is certainly not irresponsible mischief-makers and gangs of ignorant hooligans, but the disciplined might of her fighting men that is saving and will save India. They must be helped and not betrayed.

Lift up your hearts, then, and trust in your fighting men. As their representative, I proclaim to you my admiration for them, my pride in them and my trust in them. By their valour you shall conquer."

Well, the Caravan went on. Real and earnest workers rallied round a brave Britain in her hour of darkest trial. Not even the meanest of mankind could have hesitated to help Britain after the Battle of Britain was fought and won. The Indian States, one and all, and millions in British India poured out men, money and material to protect this dear land of ours on the battle-field, and in the factories, volunteers by the thousand have worked day and night to give help in a hundred and one ways. The sight of non-violent, non-co-operation aggression or whatever that means appears distant. I suppose amongst other things it means that with our hands on our backs we must look on complacently when our hearths and our homes are desecrated with impunity by foreign soldiers with rape and plunder, we must look on when they add mercilessly to our existing poverty and deprive us of everything we possess in the way of liberty and freedom—and freedom of speech is the one thing the *Congress* will miss most! And in return what has the Congress to offer—we

are promised that we shall once again, as several times before, plough the arid deserts of non-co-operation, but this time against our *new* foreign rulers, knowing full well what misfortunes and utterly futile results this policy has brought to India in the past!

7. THE BRITON

(i) *Ubiquitous "unwanted" Britain !*

Mr. Gandhi pretends to be painfully surprised that England is suspicious of India and does not go out bag and baggage from this country! He, however, omits to tell us that it is the Congress that has made a suspicious Britain. During the last 20 years, Congress has, by turns, feigned friendship, showed open defiance, tried to hurt Britain's interest in India by word and deed—even during the war exhibited joyous expressions of relief at British defeats and German Victories—very tactfully by the clever politician, very crudely by the mass of Congress rabble. In these years we have always heard that all the evil that has visited India in the past, all that is existing at present or will befall her in the future, is due to everything British—British Rule, British human beings, British language,

British culture, education and institutions—all except British Freedom of speech in which the Congressman can indulge to his heart's content so as to preach discontent and plan open rebellion, and that is called living as slaves! When, however, he over-steps the mark he is taken to prison, but as he is a political prisoner, he is sent there in the 1st Class, where the comfort and freedom allotted to him would make an Axis Concentration Camp blush. Here every facility for food, suited to the prisoners' particular requirements is catered for. If ill, special consultants are called in, and if the case gets a little worse the patient is at once released. In 1940, many political prisoners took "seriously" ill, but made most rapid and wonderful recoveries very soon after they had left the prison doors! That being the British way of treating political prisoners, and happily not of the Concentration Camp type, the political prisoner does not mind going to his "den" now and again to revive the halo of a "hero" round his patriotic head, if he finds that its lustre gets a little faded!

(ii) Britain's Political Sins

The seed of anti-British feeling in India has not been sown so much by the Briton of today in India, as years ago by Britain's men and women.

Such of us Indians that have lived in our country in Curzon's days and today, will bear testimony to the fact that a great change has come over the Britisher in India in his ways, his manners, his treatment of and bearing towards the Indians. The seed, however, that was sown in those days of old has borne bitter fruit today. Every bit of the snobbishness, selfishness, hypocritical superiority complex exhibition, and pride, of which Curzon's was a type, is made a subject for retaliation today by the youth of India, and he is fully exploited by a class of politicians who, when they find an isolated example of a Britisher of the Curzon type, will make a mountain out of a mole-hill. Even today, although social contact and association are more intimate than in the old days, the two societies, British and Indian live and move in almost two watertight compartments. The only exception, perhaps, is the little Parsi community; but as this is numerically very small, the beneficial effects of such social contacts, on the future destinies of the two countries, are few and almost negligible. This unhappy estrangement brought into relief very soon the grim realization that no race which believes itself intellectually and scientifically superior can hope to rule any other race all the time with a dangling sword and a pointed pistol.

as was believed by Englishmen and women of King Edward the VII's days. The magic of the heart is a great factor in beneficent rule. Intimate social contact between the ruler and the ruled, affection and understanding and an entire eradication from one's mind of superiority of race and colour, ought to have been the policy of Government and individual alike. That opportunity was, however, lost, never to return. The blame of the social estrangement cannot be in all justice laid *entirely* at the door of the Britisher. Hindu society, riddled with castes—each not acknowledging the other as her equal, can hardly be expected to be kind to a foreigner in its social relations. Furthermore, standards of living, ideals of education and domestic life, of business principles and business morality, and of hygiene, have all in many cases been poles apart in the two nations. Thus, the characteristically exclusive nature of the Britisher, coupled with his inborn pride and selfishness, found a congenial ground for excuse to retire within his own shell of social life, founded exclusive clubs and adorned them with such glaringly anti-Indian rules that no generation of Indian will either forget or forgive this behaviour and insult committed on his own native soil by a foreigner.

Then again, the Colonial treatment of Indians is a perpetually open and festering sore. South Africa is the darkest chapter in the whole vile history of the Black and White races of the Empire. It is idle and futile to talk of "freedom" which Anglo-Saxon races of the world consider they have bestowed on dark-skinned nations when unjust treatment is conspicuous in their own empires. The cynic well knows that these talks of future promised equalities are all propaganda works of the Empire for the battle-cry, and the moment the war stops, the same kind of treatment will be meted out to the Indians in the colonies as was done in the past. The comradeship of arms, the heroic work of the Indian soldiers who have fought so well, risked their lives and spilled their blood on African soil, will be totally forgotten—as sure as night follows day, whenever the war is over. *

Though there has been distinct exploitation of India by the Briton, let it be said in fairness to him, that no conquering nation has showered so many benefits and comparatively such few cruelties as have the British in their long and varied connection with India. Britain is the only nation that has succeeded in bringing India together, as closely as it is humanly possible, whereby Indians

* See page 88 for a list of iniquitous anti-Indian legislative acts of the colonies.

were able to demand dominion status, until the Pakistan Scheme appeared on the political chess-board. Industry, under British rule, has flourished throughout the length and breadth of this continent to an extent as few, a century ago, would have dreamed it possible, and today, the major portion of that vast industry is in Indian hands and is run with Indian capital and labour. In spite of the enormous poverty in this country, there is a more even distribution of money than in pre-British days, when wealth was the prerogative of the ruler, the nobles and the sahookars. Education, though perhaps not of the right type, has been introduced in a uniform manner. With justice, respect for law and order has been created. Under the British regime, medical aid and sanitation, at least in the big cities have reached a stage never before seen. Cities, great, beautiful and famous, have sprung up. Railways and roads have brought the people of this vast country more easily together. Innumerable dams have been constructed which have reduced, in a great degree, the frequent occurrences and spectre of famine. These, and several other benefits, must be acknowledged without reserve and with unstinted gratitude.

Where, however, the Briton has failed and failed criminally in his duty to this country is in his

failure to raise the standard of living and of education of the agricultural class, where, today after centuries, the vast mass of poverty, hunger, misery and ignorance points an accusing finger, in no uncertain way, of dreadful neglect and gross and shameful dereliction of trusteeship and stewardship. If, in a century of rule, and a century is a long time, Britain had produced in this country twice as many Graduates of Agriculture and Science, as she manufactured those of law and arts, if she had "gone all out" to tackle earnestly the villager's lot boldly and methodically, no matter how much she left India an indebted country, if she had helped India scientifically to make as many goods in India herself instead of keeping her always dependent on England for her wants, if she had encouraged her in peace time in manufacturing machinery, arms and ammunition, in building ships and producing all those thousand and one things that she now produces in war time, if she had not time and again "juggled" with the exchange ratio and other financial relations with India, ever to the detriment of this country's interests, such a policy would have brought to Britain the eulogy and tribute of the world, and the blessings and true friendship of a large part of the human race. But, Britain's sons, always busy in exploiting the big cities for wealth and commerce and industry,

have brought upon their heads the just charge of exploitation.

And yet, talking of agricultural and village-help reforms, by some curious irony of fate, when in the year 1937-39 popular governments in this country, and particularly in this rich province of Bombay, had the rare chance of tackling this particular problem of agricultural and village uplift to the *neglect of every other reform in the country* showing their ability where Britain has failed miserably, how utterly that chance was discarded. If, instead of imposing heavy taxation on unwilling shoulders to fight the God Bacchus, and searching drunken souls in filthy gutters, as though that was a reform that needed the utmost and immediate urgency of execution, money, which people would not have grudged to pay for a just cause, had been raised and utilized year after year, in taking in hand systematically hundreds of villages in each province, raising their standards of education and of living, enhancing and enriching the villager's production of his soil by aiding him with scientific knowledge and instruments, and by financial aids bettering his condition of living and of hygiene by providing him with wells and good dwellings, schools and dispensaries, would not all that work have brought honour and

strength and popularity to the self-governed provinces? Alas, for the tragedy of that missed opportunity.

(iii) *Mr. Gandhi's "go" to the British*

Congress very bare-facedly orders the Briton out of India. Has it asked itself the question whether any member of the organization called the Congress, if put in a Briton's place would go out of India? And why should the Briton go out of India and that too at the bidding of the Congress? Is he a subject or an inferior race inhabiting this country that the Congress has the impudence and the audacity to challenge him? Even if he has braved much and suffered much in the past for his own country and not for India, would you blame him if he says that on that score alone he has a perfect right that he should be rewarded with the fruits of his daring by enhancing his material welfare in this land by trade and commerce? Human nature being what it is, an Indian in his place would do the same. Granted the most unselfish and honest desire on his part that he wishes to remain in power and will not budge because we will not make up our own differences and come together for the sake of our own country, is he not truthful even there? What the Briton in his own country is concerned about today is not that his nationals

in India will have very soon to hand over the reins of Government into Indian hands, but the unfriendliness of the Congress and other Indian bodies (in season and out of season towards Great Britain) and that so glaringly exhibited, naturally makes him suspicious that his enormous economical and trade interests, where millions of his country's finance and resources have been employed, will be surely and systematically destroyed by the Indian politician, and here again he is justified in his fears.

One can never make a man one's friend or well-wisher by impudent behaviour or by threats. Just consider a while, and ponder on the fact, that if a nation that has braved successfully the threat of annihilation by the most powerful and ruthless nation in the world in the shape of Germany, and treated with contempt the devil incarnate in the form of Hitler,—does any sane man in India suppose that such a nation, because of the threats of the Congress or the League or a dozen multiplied bodies like these, will quit India like a lamb ! Do these bodies not know, by now, the stuff and the grit of which this Anglo-Saxon race is made of ? And if they do, as they ought to by now, is it not better for the Congress to leave off this nauseating blustering and threatening attitude—all this comedy-show and farce of hooliganism called Civil Disobedience ?

IV. A PLEA TO RETURN TO SANITY

"The golden moments in the stream of life rush past us and we see nothing but sand; the angels come and visit us and we only know them when they are gone."

George Eliot.

IV. A PLEA TO RETURN TO SANITY

If we wish to get what we want we must change our tactics. Instead of the barren, and threatening attitude of the Congress towards Britain, instead of the equally threatening broadcasts of the Muslim League to the Hindu community of Pakistan or nought, of the Hindu Mahasabha of Hindustan or nothing, instead of all this thunder and lightning, may we not for just once in our lives, act as men of business and understanding, and talk as such to the Britisher and to each other? First and foremost, like gentlemen and Nationals, let us compose our own differences, and when we have done that, firmly and systematically present the demand of one United Nation for the rights and privileges that will be then ours for the asking, and which we will then fully deserve. There is no shame in acknowledging or virtue in disclaiming that it is our fault and our fault alone that we have not got today what we have been pining for for years, and it is no use always, as though wound up like a mechanical toy, throwing a dirty shoe at the Bull Dog!

Let us be true to ourselves. The time for adulation or criticism is gone. It is time to tell the truth•and tell it fearlessly. As I write,

the words of William Pitt, First Earl of Chatham, addressing once the House of Lords are before my mind's eye. "My lords, this is a perilous and tremendous moment. It is not a time for adulation. It is now necessary to instruct in the language of truth. We must dispel the delusion and the darkness which envelop it, and display in its full danger and true colours the ruin that is brought to our doors. This is our duty—"

And so it is ours. That duty does not lie in propagating malicious untruths in countries that do not know us as we know ourselves by "stories" that the Congress alone represents the nation, and it and it alone can speak for the whole of India! Or again, the Muslim League. In a letter to the *Times of India* of July 16th, 1942, one of the League's illustrious henchmen says, that if Sir Stafford Cripps' proposals were passed by the Muslim League, the aspirations of a 100 million Muslims would have been destroyed! Does this messenger of the gospel of truth believe that a 100 million Muslims are in favour of his League? The truth is that many millions of uneducated Muslims are unaware as to the existence of the League, other millions if they know that there is a League, and also a Scheme for Pakistan, do not know exactly such a Scheme's implication,—

political, geographical or otherwise, and of the other millions that know all about it, a good few millions in all but the north of India are doubtful of its real value to themselves and their community as a whole. And yet this representative of the League will talk tall to outbid the Congress in exaggeration. Politics is always and everywhere a dirty game, but in India attempts are made to make it sometimes filthy.

Must we always be acting like irresponsible people oblivious of our duty to the great cause? Can we not act like strong men—men with a sense of honour and dignity, with a sense of truth and realism, and get convinced of the great harm that we do to our cause and our country by being a house divided against itself! Why can we not compose our differences and cease to be subjects of ridicule to other nations by our quarrels, big and small? Above all, can we not with a spirit of give and take, replace destructive criticisms by constructive plans? Are we so bankrupt in wisdom, so barren in diplomacy, so utterly bereft of intellectual acumen that we cannot ourselves think of some plan or plans that would thwart those forces that are militating against our common interest, hopes and aspirations! Is it not strange that we must always put the onus of such a procedure on

Great Britain ! We have some brilliant intellects outside the Congress and the League, but even these are content with sometimes criticizing the Congress, sometimes the League and often the British. Britain tells us frankly that she has tried her hand at it and she has failed to satisfy us. She confesses her inability to try again. She has thrown the gauntlet at us and asked us to pick it up. She wants us to find out if we can do any better, and the glove is still lying there in the arena—untouched ! We may, therefore, take it that Britain cannot or will not, solve this mighty problem for us and we will have to find a solution of the tangle for ourselves. Of course, except for the all-wise Congress, nobody in his senses can think of tackling this problem in this very critical time of the world's history, but there is no harm in attempting to make plans for future guidance for a peaceful solution of the complicated maze of affairs that has been our own creation !

We have, by now, had enough of the frenzy of mud-slinging and quite sufficient of the orgy of vituperation, slogans, alternating threats of civil disobedience and retirements into wildernesses. None of these has helped us. Let us try, therefore, the cultivation of commonsense, cold reason, compromise and construction. Can it be gainsaid

that if all these supreme efforts at creating a flood of energy that has been wasted by indulging in torrents of verbosity, were to be directed into channels of constructive work for definite plans and action, in which we can all take part, the ignominious spectacle of a people run politically amuck would have been avoided ?

There must be few Indians, indeed, that do not want Home Rule in some form or another. India has reached a stage of feeling where she resents the idea of being ruled by another nation, no matter if this nation be heaven-born or modelled on perfection. How to achieve this desire and ambition is the one agitating problem today. Agreed though she be on the above question, she is positively divided on the question of independence. The States, the numerous minorities, the Depressed Classes, the Liberals, and several millions of Hindus themselves, visualize that an Independent India, in the immediate or even remote future, will not be to her interest, and the only stabilizing influence is Great Britain who will protect her from the more or less certain threats from aggressor countries outside, and revolutionary movements within. A complete and absolute transfer of power into Congress hands will result in internecine quarrels in the country

itself that has its components so widely unassimilated and with marked fissiparous tendencies. That being the fact, a wiser alternative would be the grant of Dominion Status within the Empire, with the consent of all India's people, giving India a distinct status and providing her with strength to resist external aggression and internal disorders during the difficult period of transition. Thus a policy of full and friendly co-operation with Britain would be assured. This, however, we cannot get from Britain unless we on our part convince her that we will not hurt her trade and other interests (all except political) which will be honestly and zealously safeguarded. There should be an absolute agreement between the two countries to go to each other's help in the question of defence when either country is attacked by another power. For this, even if the Indian Army be totally Indianized under Indian jurisdiction, Britain must be allowed to keep, at her own expense, in one part of India, a fairly substantial army of her own, quite independent of the Indian army except that from here the friendly Indian Army can be trained and brought up to date from time to time in a most scientific manner. Thus, Britain and India may be assured that any third power will think twice before¹ attacking India

for assuaging the aggressor's greed. Incidentally it may help to assure Britain that India will not break faith with her if tempted to disturb her treaty-rights with England—a possibility of which England is becoming more and more conscious owing to continuous hostility from the Congress and other bodies. I feel sure that Great Britain will always insist on this proviso before she hands over real power to India. India will be in need for some time to come for her shores to be protected by the power of Britain's Navy until her own Navy, which is of a very nebulous nature, becomes strong enough to stand on her own and protect her trade and industry.

This, however, does not solve the second great difficulty for transfer of power, *viz.* internal communal differences, which is as mighty a problem to solve or even mightier than the Indo-British problem.

Naturally, when transfer of power is contemplated, all eyes are turned to Delhi, because *there* is the Central power, and the glamour of authority, but it is not generally realized that the fight between the communities lies in the provinces. The present acute tension between Majority and minorities has had its origin primarily from failures—partial or complete in the Provincial

Rule Experiment of 1937-39—during which period acute mistrust and disunity and ill feeling were created between the different communities. Before that period, the political tension was not great. On the contrary, when Congress assumed power, there was subdued hope and excitement that the experiment of self-rule may succeed, and there was even sympathy towards Congress aspirations from other communities, but matters quickly deteriorated since then, and at the end of 1940 the gulf of differences was at its widest. Even the seed of Pakistan was laid in disaffected non-Muslim provinces.

Thus to a thoughtful observer it feels that to solve first the Federal question before solving the Provincial, is something like feeding the brain of a hungry horse and leaving his stomach completely empty, and in the very natural and impulsive desire to grasp power at its very root, sufficient attention is not directed towards the solution of the Provincial problem arising from the failure of the original experiment. Ofcourse, Congressmen think that their rule was a prodigious success, but then, they always had a mighty opinion of themselves and all their deeds!

If we accept the principle, therefore, that we must build up our new constitution speedily

and satisfactorily, then we must build it on a rock foundation from below up, and not have a glorified superstructure with a feeble foundation. There lies the way to disaster and collapse. Furthermore we have got to analyse the causes that resulted in the failure of previous Provincial governments in order to prevent such factors operating in a new legislature that would be more fool-proof than the last.

In the following chapter such a plan for a revised legislature in the Provinces is discussed. Plans are likewise formulated for the establishment of a legislature at the Centre on the same model as that of the Provinces. These legislatures would be presided over by Indian Prime Ministers with entirely Indian Ministers in the Cabinets of Ministry both Central and Provincial. Suggestions are also made for the establishment of a liaison Chamber between Provincial and Federal India on the one hand and the Indian States on the other with a view thereby of establishing a Dominion State of India.

V & VI. PLANS FOR PROVINCIAL
AND FEDERAL LEGISLATURES AND
FOR DOMINION STATUS

*"It is the distinction of a statesman
from a politician that he sees, compre-
hends, and seizes on the enduring, the
stable, the eternal—that low temporary
interests do not hide the everlasting."*

W. C. Channing.

V. A NEW PLAN FOR PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES WITH COALITION GOVERNMENT

A. *Preliminary Essentials*

Before a new plan can claim to succeed, certain essentials must be satisfied.*

(1) Inter-communal suspicions, jealousies, threats, intrigues not to forget nepotism, must be removed, not by the promise of goodwill of one community towards another, but by laws rigidly inherent in the constitution.

(2) Retainment of the principle of democracy, by which is meant the rule of the country by the *whole* of the people for the people, and not by a section of the people over all—wherein lie Fascism and Autocracy.

(3) A fair adjustment of the shouldering of Government responsibility by all communities—the majority community retaining nearly 50% of it.

(4) The natural creation in such a government of a National Outlook in legislation instead of a narrow communal outlook which is always the heritage of a one-community rule.

(5) Reducing the Governor's responsibility and interference to a nebulous quantity or removing it altogether. ••

(6) A constitutional safeguard or safeguards must be introduced whereby no majority community in the Assembly can be turned into a minority, nor can one single major community always dominate over the minorities.

To enlarge: The Minority Problem.

This is an important, all-pervading, all-dominating problem—one that is to be reckoned with and solved if we want to advance a single step forward in a peaceful solution of the complex tangle. The future constitution in the provinces must be of such a nature, that whilst the majority community, whether it be Hindu or Muslim in a given province plays an important and a major part in the government of the said province, the members of the minorities must have a fair chance in shouldering the burden of government. The future constitution must clearly state how far the minority representatives, *having the full confidence of their communities, and not such as are the associates or hirelings of a single dominating party or community*, should have real and definite power in the day to day working of the government. Those in the Congress governments of 1937–39 never represented their own communities which almost disowned them as absolute^u Quislings.

The goodwill safeguard for the minorities completely failed. As an example, the representatives of the Parsi community at the Round Table Conferences, in a weak moment, gave up their rights of having reserved seats in the Provincial Legislatures of the future, declaring amongst other things, that they depended for the safeguarding of their interests on the goodwill of the majority community and her sense of honour and justice to defend the smaller community from any harm. How completely that goodwill failed, and how that trust and faith was betrayed, is now history, and has been described at length in former chapters. There are other minor communities that are deprived of communal franchise who have the same story to tell. Nor are those communities that are blessed by a few reserved seats happier, as, for all practical purposes, the number of seats reserved for them only show up their impotence in getting fair treatment for their respective communities. The real canker of dissatisfaction suspicions, and legislative inefficiency in the past provincial legislatures was not due to the fact that there were certain seats reserved for the minorities, as the Congress and kindred bodies would have us believe, but that there were not enough of them. When we change our electoral system in such a

way that of the total seats not more than a little over 50% can be claimed by any majority community and the rest be reserved absolutely for the minorities, in ways that would differ in different provinces, we shall thereby considerably blunt the sharp edge of injustice to the minorities by this and other methods to be described hereafter. The division of seats amongst the minorities will vary according to circumstances peculiar to each province;—first, according to the number of the minorities, secondly their numerical strength, and thirdly their quality,—military, commercial, educative, social, and thus of their practical importance for the inherent good of the country; as examples may be given, the Sikhs in the Punjab or the Parsis in Bombay. To minorities such as these, their Provinces and the representations they get in them, mean almost a question of life and death to their existence and well-being, and thus they are more concerned about Provincial affairs than they are about Federal, where they would be satisfied with a comparatively meagre representation, provided in all fairness and justice considerable weightage, out of proportion to their numerical strength, is granted to them in their respective Provincial legislatures. This, however, does not mean that the weightage

should be ridiculously high, but only reasonably so.

Electorate:—

Democracy on the Western type of a joint electorate system is only possible in a country where there is a homogeneous population with one race, one religion, one country for all people, and all agreeing amongst themselves that they are together body and soul for the country by a mutual bond of love, religion, friendship and understanding. In India that condition does not exist, and the sooner we realize that, the better for all of us. Here, there is a heterogeneous mass of innumerable peoples of extremely different cultures, education, views and ideas of life, and these again are separated by religions bearing not the slightest affinity to each other. Is this a type of people ripe for democracy based on a *joint*-electorate system?

Besides, for democracy of the Western type of electorate, the standard of education and the number of people educated must be very high to appreciate the value of individual adult franchise given and possessed in the interest of the country. In India, with education so backward, with community feeling raging high, where love for the community is placed higher than love for or interest

in the welfare of the country itself, vast masses of people, as was noted in the last Provincial elections, voted blindly on communal lines, without giving a thought whether the men to whom the votes were given were likely or not to view all problems so, that their solutions would promote the interest of every community. For the voter, the duty finished when he had voted for a man of his own community, thus indirectly proving that for such a people as these all voting should be entirely on communal lines, whether majority or minority. Many people, a vast majority in the land, have a very faint idea of what a real nation is, what a real nation needs and who the right men ought to be for carrying on a nation's work. If, therefore, we are thinking of developing the future government of this country on a democratic principle based on a joint electorate we are floundering hopelessly and wallowing in a mire of ideas and their effects.

Even in an old and great democracy of the type of Great Britain, when we look back into generations past when her political history was in the making, we know that there were just these reserved seats for different communities, speaking different languages such as the Welsh and the Scotch and the Irish, all with distinctive traits of their own, and besides, they were not particularly

friendly to each other as they are today. Thus, there were the English counties, the Welsh, the Scotch and the Irish. In former days, no Englishman received a hospitable reception if he tried to stand for a Scotch County election or *vice versa*, and these reserved counties were like reserved seats for the Welsh, the Scotch and the Irish minorities. It is only today, after generations of contact, that these are come together as British and have pooled their all for all, forgetting their former enmities, mistrust and suspicions. If that Island by separate electorates at first, achieved success, why may we not do so also with the passage of time?

Thus alone will peace reign out of chaos. Then alone will majorities and minorities cease to bully and coerce each other and will think of governing a nation for national good and not for promoting communal interests alone. Congress can try to work with success for years and years as it did try yesterday with the Assembly Chambers packed with members of one community, but it will fail as it did once before. It will never get the Muslims and other minorities reconciled to the community of its choice—as these minorities appear bent to resist such a contingency of the future with all the energy at their command—that

they will not substitute British Raj for a one-community Raj. As sons of the soil, they want as much right to govern their country as the major community, and they are loath to forsake this right merely because the population percentage of the latter in any given Province is high. That in itself gives them no special right to be entrusted solely with the charge of guiding the future destiny of this great country to the exclusion of all other communities whose vested interests are high, whose standard of education, civilization and culture is as high or sometimes higher, and whose sons and daughters have served their country with patriotism love and zeal in the social, cultural and industrial development of their motherland. Such being the case, they will stand up for substantial justice. What is said above with regards Congress Governments applies with equal force to contemplated Muslim-Governments in Pakistan-Provinces if ever they come into existence in the future. If the Pakistan states contemplate creating Governments in these States on such lines, that Muslims and other communities share the powers of Government equally, then Pakistan becomes Muslim only in name, and the plan below gives the Muslims an honourable position not only in the Pakistan States but all over India. Similarly, the Hindus acquire

that status in the rest of the Provinces as well as in the Pakistan States and neither Mr. Jinnah nor Mr. Gandhi need have such "pockets" to their political coats as to accommodate 1/4th and 3/4th India respectively!

B. The Plan.

This plan enunciated below aims at :—

- (1) Eradicating the constant majority-minority suspicion and mistrust.
- (2) Retaining in the Provincial Assembly as well as the Ministry a full 50% power for the majority community in the government of any province, and the rest to be distributed amongst the minorities—in some cases regard being paid to their numerical strength which would be Muslims in the Hindu Provinces and Hindus in Muslim provinces, whilst in some special cases weightage being given irrespective of their numerical strength, regard being then paid to the important position such communities hold as a result of either high martial value or educational advancement, or importance of service and stability to the Province owing to a high

standard of business and commercial enterprize for the good of that particular Province.

- (3) Doing away completely with the system of joint electorates and substituting instead purely communal electorates, reserving all seats in the Assemblies for majority as well as minority communities separately.
- (4) A new system of forming a ministry from within the elected assembly.
- (5) Introducing in the constitution, safeguards, whereby :—
 - (a) *The Majority Community*, be it Hindu or Muslim cannot be overruled by a combination of minorities in a given assembly,
 - (b) *The major minority Community's* rights being always preserved.
 - (c) *The smaller minorities* having recourse to redress in case there be any special legislative attack made on their religious or economic rights as citizens of the Empire.

- (6) The Europeans being given the privilege of important minorities except those that are from such countries or colonies that do not give us in their own land the privilege of equality and the right of citizenship.
- (7) By the statute of 1935, meagre representations given to labour, to Universities and to women, to be rectified.
- (8) The Provincial *Council* being found in the last Provincial Legislatures as having served no useful or important function, to be abolished, and special additional representations made to Commerce and Industries and to landholders in the Assembly itself.
- (9) Introducing a new feature in the plan whereby not only do the separate communities elect their own representatives, but the number they elect should also include members representing their own individual cultural and economic life. Thus, in the Bombay Provincial Assembly, as an example, the Hindus, the Muslims, the Indian Christians and the Anglo-Indians must reserve certain seats out of

those allotted to them for their own communal labour. Labour thus may not be represented by only one community, and yet, may form a group of its own in the Assembly. So must the above mentioned communities as well as the Parsis and Europeans send their own representatives selected out of their reserved seats for the University, landlord and women's group (*Vide* Table I). In this way, again considering the case of the Province of Bombay (*Vide* Table II), Labour, which received only 7 seats by the statute of 1935 now gets 12. University, which received the most miserable and inadequate representation of one solitary seat now receives six (education being an important subject, representation by one solitary seat was an absolute disgrace). Again, the Women's group has now eight seats instead of six. All these groups, of labour, University, landholders and women, are made up of all important communities, and they are thus fully representative of different peoples of the same country. Incidentally they

form important groups in the Assemblies by themselves.

For example's sake the Province of Bombay is selected to explain the method of formation and working of a new Assembly for Provincial Autonomous rule with a Coalition Ministry of all communities. The method is applicable to all other provinces. In understanding the formation of the New Assembly, the reader is referred to the tables. Of these, Table No. I refers to the New Revised Legislative Assembly of the Bombay Province, Table II gives a summary of the groups in the same Assembly of seats, as well as the formation of the Selective Assembly and the Ministry, Table III, IV and V are those of the Provincial Legislative Assemblies, the Federal Assembly and the Federal Council of State respectively, taken from the Government of India Act, 1935. Whilst Table VI shows how a New Federal Assembly can be formed on the same lines of the Provincial Assembly, in Table VII there are suggestions how, after the war, an absolute Dominion Status can be acquired by forming negotiations with the British. Thus both the New Provincial Assemblies and the new Federal Assembly fulfil the hopes and aspirations of all communities and allay their suspicions and mistrust.

TABLE I
PLAN FOR REVISED LEGISLATURE—BOMBAY PROVINCE:

Communities.	Scheduled class.	Maharattas.	Commerce & Industry.	Land-Holders.	University.	Labour.	Women	General.	Total	Percentage.
I. Hindus	15	11	4	2	1	5	3	50	91	52%
II. Muslims	—	—	2	1	1	3	1	30	38	21.7%
III. Indian Christians	—	—	—	—	1	2	1	10	14	8%
IV. Parsis	—	—	4	1	1	—	2	6	14	8%
V. Europeans	—	—	4	—	1	—	—	3	8	4.5%
VI. Anglo-Indians	—	—	—	—	1	2	1	3	7	4%
VII. Other Minorities.									3	1.8%
	15	11	14	4	6	12	8	102	175	

* Europeans of such countries, British Dominions or Colonies that deny to Indians the rights of free and equal citizenship in their own countries to have neither the right of voting or of being elected to any Indian Legislatures

TABLE III

TABLE OF SEATS—PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES

GOVT. OF INDIA ACT 1935.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	
Provinces.	Total Seats.	Total of General seats.	General seats reserved for Scheduled Castes.	Seats for representatives of backward areas and tribes.	Sikh Seats	Muslim Seats	Anglo-Indian Seats.	European Seats.	Indian-Christian Seats.	Seats for representatives of Commerce, Industry, Mining, Planting.		Landholders' Seats.	University	Seats for Labour.	Seats for Women				
															(General.	(Sikh.	(Muslim.	(Anglo-Indian.	(Indian Christian.
Madras -- --	215	146	30	1	—	28	2	3	8	6	—	6	1	6	6	1	—	1	
Bombay -- --	175	114	15	1	—	29	2	3	3	7	—	2	1	7	5	1	—	—	
Bengal -- --	250	78	30	—	—	117	3	11	2	19	—	5	2	8	2	2	1	—	
United Provinces	228	140	20	—	—	64	1	2	2	3	—	6	1	3	4	2	—	—	
Punjab -- --	175	42	8	—	31	84	1	1	2	1	—	5	1	3	1	2	—	—	
Bihar -- --	152	86	15	7	—	39	1	2	1	4	—	4	1	3	3	1	—	—	
C. P. & Bihar --	112	84	20	1	—	14	1	1	—	2	—	3	1	2	3	—	—	—	
Assam -- --	108	47	7	9	—	34	—	1	1	11	—	—	—	4	1	—	—	—	
N. W. F. Province	50	9	—	—	3	36	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Orissa -- --	60	44	6	5	—	4	—	—	1	1	—	2	—	1	2	—	—	—	
Sind -- --	60	18	—	—	—	33	—	2	—	2	—	2	—	1	1	1	—	—	

As will be observed from Tables I and III, for the sake of comparison between the 1935 Provincial Legislative Assembly of the Bombay Province and the contemplated Revised Legislature, the total number of seats, *viz.* 175 is kept the same in both cases. Table II will show that of these 175 seats, no less than 91 seats are reserved absolutely for the majority community, which in the Province of Bombay happens to be the Hindu Community; next, the most major of the minor communities, *viz.* the Muslim, receives 38 seats, the Indian Christians and the Parsis receive 14 seats each, the Europeans 8, the Anglo-Indians 7 and all the rest of the smaller minorities together receive 3 seats. How the several seats by the different communities are filled up in their respective communal groups is shown clearly in Table No. 1.

The next step, once the 175 members have been elected is the formation of the Ministry on a Coalition basis, and for that an intermediary Subsidiary Committee of 23 members is elected by the House out of its 175 members: Of these 23 members, the Hindus elect 12 out of their 91, the Muslims 4 out of their 38, the Parsis and Indian Christians—2 each out of their 14, the Europeans 1 and the Anglo-Indians also 1 out of their respective numbers of 8, and 7, whilst there is one

representative of the other remaining minorities.

Vide Table II page. Thus:—

Hindus	12
Muslims	4
Parsis	2
Indian Christians	2
Europeans	1
Anglo-Indians	1
Other minorities	1

Total ... 23 members of Selective Committee.

The function of the Selective Committee so formed (naturally containing the best and most trusted members of each community) is *to elect next from its own group of 23*, a ministry of 12 (twelve). Of these, must be elected 6 of the Hindu Community, two of the Muslim, one each of the Parsi and Indian Christians, one each for the Europeans and Anglo Indians, and one for all the rest of the smaller Minorities. Thus:—

Hindus	6 of which 1 represents the scheduled class.
Muslims	2
Parsis	1
Indian Christians	1
Europeans	1
Anglo-Indians	1

Total ... 12 Members of Ministry.

The election in the Selective Committee for the formation of the Ministry must be by ballot of all the communities combined and be non-communal as far as the method of election goes.

The final step is for the Cabinet of Ministers of 12 members to elect-by-Ballot a Prime Minister out of their number. The elected Premier thereafter distributes the portfolios to the different ministers.

With the election of the Speaker by the whole house, the formation of the Assembly is complete.

The election of the ministry by *this* method instead of by the orthodox method of selection by the majority Party in the old legislature, (a) eliminates entirely the chances of having a Ministry of either one community or of one party and thus does away completely with the prospects of a one party tyranny or one community rule so manifest in the 1937-39 Provincial Legislatures. (b) By this system again, the representative Ministers of the majority and minority groups are real representatives of their communal groups and are not Quislings as were found in the 1937-39 Ministries. (c) Furthermore, the Prime Minister can be of any community, and is likely to be the most commanding personality in the group of 12 and the most trusted of their group selected by their individual votes.

As this Scheme is essentially not one for party politics, it is necessary that the statute should include the proviso to limit the Assembly's life to 7 years, that there should be a compulsory general election every seven years in all the Provincial Legislatures. Thus every seven years there is a fresh legislature and a new ministry. Ofcourse members of the old legislature can seek re-election and can be re-elected members of the ministry. Before the lapse of 7 years, however, the ministry can be made to resign if there is passed against it a majority vote of 60%, a vote of censure of the House. If a ministry is incapable of working harmoniously together, the Premier can tender his and his colleagues' resignations to the House which re-elects a new ministry by the method of a Selective Committee. Again, if the House is so minded, it can in a particular province ask for a fresh general election before the period of 7 years elapses, but then it must receive the House's Mandate of a 2/3rd majority. All these provisions in the statute preclude the possibility of stagnation in political life and the exclusion of a possible inept or unpopular ministry. It is, however, essential that a ministry and a legislature, to whom the ministry is responsible as representatives of the public, should be given a fair period of time and

opportunities to formulate and execute essential and beneficial reforms for a particular province before they are asked to surrender their power into new hands, and that is why a period of 7 years rather than one of 5, constitutes a fairly reasonable span of time for the introduction and execution of popular measures beneficial to the country. These are, however, small matters that could be adjusted with ease, once the broad principles of the scheme are accepted by the country.

Constitutional Safeguards for Majority and Minority Communities:

A. *The Majority Community:*—As far as this community is concerned, which, for the Bombay Province is Hindu (whilst in the Punjab it will be Muslim and so on) and which has 91 seats reserved out of a total of 175, the clear numerical majority of seven votes precludes the passage in the house of any bill, official or unofficial that is directed solely or partially against the community's interest. Thus there is no chance of it ever being converted into a minority community politically in the assembly by an adverse combined voting of all the minorities—a constant bogey advanced by advocates of joint-electorate systems.

B. *Safeguard for the most major of minorities:*—This happens to be the Mohamedan

Community in the Bombay Province. Whilst all ordinary bills, which are placed before the house in the interest of the country, will be dealt with in the Assembly in the usual way of voting and passed by the usual orthodox majority vote in the assembly, yet if a certain bill, official or otherwise, comes up before the House for discussion and during such a discussion, or thereafter before the bill is put to the vote it is found by a minority community, that such a bill *adversely affects the interests of that community in particular*, religious or economic, then such a minority has a right to challenge the house, having given previous notice to the speaker, to pass the bill by a 2/3rd majority. Thus the house must pass the said bill in question by the minimum number of votes of 116 out of 175. This means that in a house of 175 the Hindus must secure, besides the solid votes of their own community, also the solid votes of 2 large minorities or even three and four smaller minority groups to go against the Muslims to get the adequate voting of 116. This will be almost an impossible proposition and thus, for all practical purposes a *big minority* in the assembly is almost as safe as the majority when her interests are singled out, by chance, for adverse voting in the assembly.

C. *The Smaller Minorities*:—When, however, one considers the case of the smaller minorities as the Indian Christians, the Parsis, the Anglo-Indians or the Europeans (which last will be further protected by their consuls if they militate against the Treaty Rights), the chances of these communities' economic and other interests being hurt, by a combination of two major communities as the Hindus and Muslims in the Bombay Provincial Legislature, are great, and here a safeguard of a 2/3rd majority rule, although applicable to them, will not save them. Nor is it fair that a legislation to which sanction is given by 2/3rd of the House should be held up in the interest of a small community. In justice, however, to such an injured minority she must be given the additional right and safeguard whereby she can ask the House to appoint a "Tribunal of Justice or Arbitration" consisting of four men of which two may be ex-judges of the High Court and two members of the House appointed by Government. The mandate to such a Tribunal does not include any change in the essentials of the bill before the House but :—

"To find out ways and means to compensate the injured minority for loss or damage, economical or otherwise accruing to her from the passage-

of such a bill and to suggestions being made, after evidence tendered before it, to minimise the harmful effects of the Bill to the interests of the minority."

Such a report of the Tribunal must, when presented to the House, have weighty consideration of both the Ministry and the Legislature.

The Possibility of exercising the Safeguards:-

Although the above safeguards have been adumbrated in the constitution, a little thinking will reveal the fact that constituted as this New Assembly will be—both of the whole house and the Ministry—there will be very few bills, if any, of an anti-communal nature, not only from the official ministry but also from the body of the House.

In forming this plan Bombay has been taken as an example but, if one carefully studies Table III which at a glance shows the Provincial Legislative Assemblies constituted by the Government of India Act of 1935, such a scrutiny will reveal to one and convince one that it is not difficult to plan new assemblies in the other provinces on the same system as the one exemplified for the Province of Bombay. As an instance, in the Punjab, the major community will

be the Muslim, and the minor important communities will be the Sikhs and the Hindus. In the Province of Bengal the minorities will be again the Hindus as the premier minority, whilst the lesser and yet important ones will be the Anglo-Indians, Europeans, etc. In Madras as well as in Bengal, the Scheduled Class by itself may be treated as a distinct minority instead of being bracketed with the Hindus as Mr. Gandhi wishes, whilst in Madras again, the Muslims will be an important minority and so will they be in the Province of Bihar, whilst in Sind the Hindus form a powerful minority. In all cases the guiding principle must be that the ~~majority~~ majority does not have more than 55% of seats and not less than 50% and the minorities be so constituted and the ministries so formed that all communities play a part in the administration with the majority playing the leading role.

No perfection is claimed for this plan, and no plan can and will please everybody, but the writer's one object in placing this plan before the public is to show that therein lies an effort, and a most sincere effort, to bring divergent and contesting parties together. With the passage of time, which will, I fear be some generations yet to come, we may be so moulded politically that we may lose our suspicions and mistrust of each other and

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consent to joint-electorates, but as matters stand today, there seems to be not an iota of chance to conciliate the different view-points of the different parties or communities if the slogan for joint electorates be persisted in. Nor is the good-will element so rampant that any community, however small, will trust any major community, and without some representation in the Government plus safeguards constitutionally inherent in the Statute, will be feeling satisfied that its interest as a constituent portion of the whole people, and its rights to citizenship and fair treatment are guaranteed. Besides, in this plan the majority communities are asked not to give up much. They retain the lion's share of power in the various provinces, and are occupying the largest and most honoured positions in them. There is also in this scheme no scope for the slightest chance of any autocratic rule by any community, and the majority and minorities are interdependent on each other, both in the body of the house and in the ministry.

The next question is, can you extend this plan to the Federal Group—the Assembly and the Council of State? To my mind you can. When you look at Tables IV and V and VI you are struck with the fact that if members are

TABLE IV

TABLE OF SEATS—FEDERAL ASSEMBLY
REPRESENTATIVES OF BRITISH INDIA—GOVT. OF INDIA ACT 1935

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
Provinces.	Total Seats.	General Seats			Sikh Seats.	Muslim Seats.	Anglo-Indian Seats.	European Seats.	Indian Christian Seats.	Seats for Repre- sentatives of Com- merce and Industry.	Seats for Landholders.	Seats for Labour.	Women's Seats.
		Total of General Seats	General Seats reserved for Scheduled Castes.	General Seats									
Madras	37	19	4	—	8	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	
Bombay	30	13	2	—	6	1	1	1	3	1	2	2	
Bengal	37	10	3	—	17	1	1	1	8	1	2	1	
United Provinces	37	19	3	—	12	1	1	1	—	1	1	1	
Punjab	30	6	1	6	14	—	1	1	—	1	—	1	
Bihar	30	16	2	—	9	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	
C. P. & Berar	15	9	2	—	3	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	
Assam	10	4	1	—	3	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	
N. W. F. Province	5	1	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	
Orissa	5	4	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Sind	5	1	—	—	3	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
British Baluchistan	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Delhi	2	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Ajmer-Merwara	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Coorg	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Non-Provincial Seats	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Total	250	105	18*	6	82	4	8	8	11	7	10	9*	

TABLE VI

PROPOSED REVISED PLAN FOR FEDERATED ASSEMBLY

MEMBERS DRAWN FROM PROVINCES

	Scheduled Castes.	Commerce & Industry.	Landholders.	Labour.	Women.	Univer- sities.	General seats.	Total Seats.	Percentage
I. Hindus -- --	18	8	8	10	5	6	70	125	50%
II. Muslims -- --	--	3	6	5	3	5	58	80	32%
III. Sikhs -- --	--	1	--	1	1	1	8	12	4.8%
IV. Indian Christians --	--	--	--	3	1	1	7	12	4.8%
V. Europeans* -- --	--	6	--	--	--	--	3	9	3.6%
VI. Anglo-Indians --	--	1	--	1	--	--	4	6	2.4%
VII. Parsees -- --	--	3	--	--	--	--	--	3	1.2%
VIII. Other Minorities --	--	--	* --	3	--	--	--	3	1.2%
TOTAL -- --	18	22	14	23	10	13	150	250	

* Europeans of such countries or of such British Dominions and colonies that deny to Indians the rights of free and equal citizenships in their own countries have neither the right of voting or of being elected a member of any Indian Legislature.

recruited to the Federal Assembly from the Provinces in the same spirit of Coalition as in the Provinces themselves we can have self-government even there, where the majority community and the minorities can work in harmony and play a very valuable part in the shaping of the destiny of a free and independent India. An eye has always to be kept on the majority-minority barometer in distributing seats from the different provinces, keeping a balanced scale of justice and fair play between the various communities particularly for the two most major communities, the Hindus and Muslims, but again allowing many of the other minorities of India some share in the rule of the centre and the requisite safeguards for justice as in the Provinces.

Table VII gives a comprehensive idea about a plan for future Dominion State of India, where the Indian states are included in the picture for the first time. As the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar has stated very recently, and one has reason to believe that he has expressed in that statement the views of the majority of his brother princes, that although they are willing to co-operate in a measure with the New Political Order in India to get a status of a self-governing Dominion for this country they will not give up their sovereign rights inherent in their .

respective treaties with the Crown. This right has been threatened repeatedly by the Congress, overtly and covertly. The India of the future if she is going to play a united part in the future destiny, must have a co-operation of British India with State India and these must act together as willing partners in the evolution of a strong, healthy and progressive kingdom. Why not then treat the States as an independent provincial unit and let them have a Federal Assembly of their own as we have of the Provincial British India ?

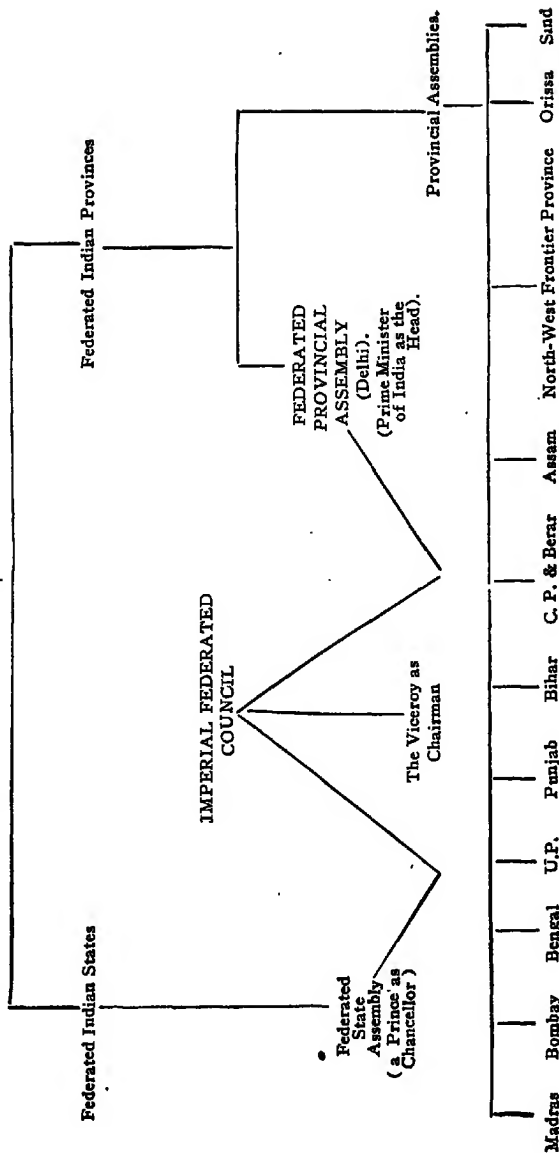
For creating contact of such a Federated State India with the Provincial Federated India, in order that certain *All-India* problems such as the army, navy, air force, post, telegraph and railways, etc. can be dealt with as national problems, let there be established constitutionally a separate Chamber called the Imperial India Council Chamber. This would be then a Liason Chamber between the two Indias and will deal principally with the question of the State Finance and national problems of defence. Here the Indian States must contribute their shares to the whole of India, as they do at present, the extent and nature of these contributions to be specifically mentioned in the constitution.

Any state voluntarily wishing, with the joint consent of the Ruler and the ruled, to join Indian

TABLE V
FEDERAL COUNCIL 1935 ACT

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Province or Community.	Total Seats.	General Seats.	Seats for Scheduled Castes.	Sikh Seats	Mohamedan Seats.	Women's Seats.	
Madras — — —	20	14	1	—	4	1	
Bombay — — —	16	10	1	—	4	1	
Bengal — — —	20	8	1	—	10	1	
United Provinces —	20	11	1	—	7	1	
Punjab — — —	16	13	—	4	8	1	
Bihar — — —	16	10	1	—	4	1	
C. P. & Berar — —	8	6	1	—	1	—	
Assam — — —	5	3	—	—	2	—	
N.W.F. Province —	5	1	—	—	4	—	
Orissa — — —	5	5	—	—	1	—	
Sind — — —	5	5	—	—	3	—	
British Baluchistan —	1	1	—	—	1	—	
Delhi — — —	1	1	—	—	—	—	
Ajmer-Merwara —	1	1	—	—	—	—	
Coorg — — —	1	1	—	—	—	—	
Anglo-Indians — —	1	—	—	—	—	—	
Europeans — —	7	—	—	—	—	—	
Indian-Christians —	2	—	—	—	—	—	

TABLE VII
INDIAN DOMINION EMPIRE



India be allowed to do so. Other states may be influenced, but neither interfered with nor coerced in any way directly or indirectly, to bring about changes in their respective states, from a monarchical to a democratic rule in line with New India.

For the rest, in an India with such a revised constitution it is best to :

(1) Do away with the office of the Secretary of State for India. This office for some reason or other has acquired the status of a house of ill fame.

(2) Let the Dominion Secretary's relations with India be exactly the same as of other self-governing dominions of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

(3) Allow the Governor-General to have the same powers as that of any Dominion Governor-General with the added responsibility of guarding in particular British interests in India like a Consul-General safeguarding treaty rights between India and England. On the whole he will act as a constitutional representative of the Crown. He may act as President of the Imperial Council Chamber in that capacity.

(4) Let the Provincial Governors' offices, if not substituted by Consular offices, be then changed

in such a way that the Governors act as constitutional heads of Provinces not interfering with the day to day working of the Provincial Regime.

(5) Allow Britain to keep an army of her own in India at her own expense, as in Egypt. This would be entirely British in personnel, and with a three-fold object :—

(a) To protect India in co-operation with the Indian army, which will be entirely Indianized in all its branches and under New India's jurisdiction. Reciprocation of help guaranteed to Britain by India in case of aggression against Britain.

(b) To train the Indian Army in all its phases in up-to-date methods of warfare.

(c) Incidentally to preserve the rights of British citizens in India with regards trade, commercial and other interests.

(6) Stop recruitment of Civil Service in England and all examinations for the Service to be held in India for the Indians in the Indian Civil Service. Britishers holding civilian, and other government posts in all services, be allowed to remain in office for about 10 years and after that they must retire. Their pays during office, and

their pensions or provident funds guaranteed, after office, by India. Such British officers whose service India may need after the specified period of 10 years be retained by mutual agreements between them and the Indian Government. of the time.

(7) Finance, exchange and currency in relation to the two countries be settled by mutual adjustments between them.

REVIEW

In taking a review of what policy must be adopted for the future by a people in such an unfortunate and unenviable position as ours, there stand out in bold relief certain essentials which must be fulfilled before its adoption. Of these the most urgent are the cultivation of a spirit of tolerance and a habit of understanding each other's difficulties and ambitions; likewise, there must be a recognition of the importance of a policy of give and take not only between ourselves as parties and communities but also between the British Government and us. All other methods to unravel the tangled web have failed, including the Civil Disobedience movement that has failed the most.

Civil Disobedience is a faith in the minds and hearts of philosophers, and when it is handed over to the rabble to be practiced, not as a faith but as an art, it invariably degenerates into rebellion—naked and unabashed, in all its phases of murder, arson and loot. Whatever may be the attribute of virtue or success that can be granted to the creed of civil disobedience in raising the standard of patriotism and unity of this country, it has engendered the most dangerous spirit of defiance against law and order in the mind of the

younger generation of our times. Defying civic responsibility, the youth of today has learnt to defy all the decent canons of domestic, scholastic and spiritual life. The result is a tragedy of the highest order. The modern youth is degenerating into a most vicious specimen of humanity with all the traits of Fascism and Nazism in his blood in the garb of patriotism. He or she, not having learnt, or being allowed to learn, what it is to obey, never learns to organize or command. The latest phase, therefore, of the civil disobedience movement is in many places an unruly, unorganized crazy attempt of rebellious youth that delights in acts of violence, arson and sabotage. In destroying property, it destroys people's possessions, in murdering people, it selects for its victims the finest body of men that continually risk their lives to preserve law and order—the Police. Very few police organizations in the world have been called upon on such innumerable occasions to keep peace between community and community, capital and labour, people and government, as the Indian Police, ever since 20 years ago, Mr. Gandhi launched his civil disobedience movement. Even the Congress ministers appreciated the worth of this splendid body of men during their own short rule, and these are the men whom Congress hooligans have been

pleased to pour oil upon and burn as heretics. Civil Disobedience has degenerated the youth and inculcated regrets and doubts in the minds of elders guardians and parents. Truly, as Sir C. P. R. Aiyar says, "I regard the entry of students into the agitation that is taking place today as perhaps the most unfortunate thing that has happened in Indian History for the last 50 or 60 years. People who have stimulated the students to commit sabotage and dangerous acts are making self-government impossible for India. There is nothing so calamitous to the country than the rising of the students and then taking part in such dangerous activities. The evil, therefore, was the greatest and its effects would be worse than a 1,000 years' slavery."—What sins have been committed in the name of the so-called "peaceful" movement of Civil disobedience of Mr. Gandhi, what suffering has it brought about, what unemployment has it caused amongst labour and what disunity amongst communities? And when all this is realized, where do we stand to day politically after these sacrifices? Is it a movement on which Gandhiji can look back with complacency or pride, or conscious of its drawbacks and oft-repeated failures, must he plunge the country into yet another blood-bath as the one at present? This is neither virtue nor

patriotism, it is neither human discretion nor political wisdom. It is like the gamble of a man that has lost several times at a game and will go on playing all the same; and the game is steeped in the blood and misery of his own beloved people.

It has been said of England that she has been a lucky country, the chosen of the Gods, that has always provided in her hour of crisis and trial, the right man in the right place, at the right time. Would to Providence, the same could be said in the remotest way of India. This unfortunate country of few smiles and many tears has always produced the wrong man in the right place—visionaries in place of practical men, men that would go after shadows and lose substances, men who would insist on the most intemperate demands in place of precious and reasoned acquisitions, who are ready to create trouble like children but lack their Divine gift of making up quarrels, who will revel in feuds of perpetuity and will never learn the art of good will and tolerance. Thus, we have the most impractical and dangerous demand of the Congress of "Quit India," the selfish and irrational demand of the Muslim League for Pakistan, Dr. Ambedkar's message to the depressed-classes to outwit the Muslim demand, the Mahasabha, for Hindusim

Bengal's plan for Bangistan, and Madras for Dravidistan. When to all this you add the obstinacy of years of the British in not considering the wisdom of timely reform, then you have the whole maudlin picture complete. Edmund Burke uttered the following weighty words some 160 years ago in reference to his own country, and every word then uttered is truly applicable to our own. He was talking on the dangers of procrastination by Government in granting reforms to the people and the unwisdom of the people in asking for intemperate reforms.

Here are his words :—

“Early reformatiöns are amicable arrangements with a friend in power; late reformatiöns are terms imposed upon a conquered enemy; early reformatiöns are made in cool blood; late reformatiöns are made under a state of inflammation. In that state of things the people behold in Government nothing that is respectable. They see the abuse and they will see nothing else—They fall into the temper of a furious populace provoked at the disorder of a house of ill-fame; they never attempt to correct or regulate; they go to work by the shortest way—they abate the nuisance, they pull down the house.

“This is my opinion with regard to the true interest of Government. But as it is the interest of Government that reformation should be early, it is in the interest of the people that it should be temperate. It is their interest because a temperate reform is permanent ; and because it has a principle of growth. Whenever we improve, it is right to leave room for further improvement. It is right to consider, to look about us, to examine the effect of what we have done. Then we can proceed with confidence, because we can proceed with intelligence. Whereas in hot reformations, in what men, more zealous than considerate. call *making clear work*, the whole is generally so crude, so harsh, so indigested ; mixed with so much imprudence and so much injustice ; so contrary to the whole course of human nature and human institutions that the very people who are most eager for it are among the first to grow disgusted at what they have done. Then some part of the abdicated grievance is recalled from its exile in order to become a corrective of the correction. Then the abuse assumes all the credit and popularity of a reform. The very idea of purity and disinterestedness in politics falls into disrepute, and is considered as a vision of hot and inexperienced men ; and thus disorders

become incurable, not by the virulence of their own quality but by the unapt violent nature of the remedies. A great part therefore of my idea of reform is meant to operate gradually; some benefits will come at a nearer, some at a more remote period. We must no more haste to be rich in parsimony, than by intemperate acquisition."

Just as an individual makes or mars his own destiny, so do nations. But in the lives of every one and every nation extraneous help and circumstances, uninvited, play an important role in deciding their fate. There is for example, no such human being in the world as is sometimes termed popularly "*The Self-Made Man*." There are always people and circumstances that have helped in the creation of such an individual—only the self-made man has not lost opportunities. So do successful nations—they never, in the shaping of their destinies, disregard friendly help or opportunities offered. Until yesterday there existed a strong and impartial sympathy for India of the great nations of America, Russia, China. This was a very valuable asset. And what is happening today as a result of the unwise policies of the two major political bodies in India? This asset is being slowly liquidated. Thus in the language of a great poet, "But yesterday, and 'India' might

have stood against the world, now, none so poor to do her reverence." Immediately after the last meeting of the Congress, the great democracy of America, unofficially, in her press and on public platform, disowned the Congress, which tried to retaliate with the very mean weapons of abuse and defiance. Whilst the Mahatma always breathes peace and humility and gentleness which form the most lovable part of his character, all his lieutenants, immediate and remote, down to the despicable urchin in the street with a white cap on, breathe today defiance pride, discontent and rebellion. *O tempora! O mores!*

Much stress has been laid in former chapters on the majority-minority question and in spite of the Congress belittling the importance of it and the Muslim League exaggerating it in favour of its own community and leaving other minorities to their fate, the fact remains that it is the one question which will always be a pivot of the plank on which the whole inter-communal problem will have to be solved satisfactorily if and when we make a united bid to achieve our objective from Britain. Two very suggestive statements from the Congress and the government are hopeful signs of the recognition of the importance of this problem.

The Viceroy, August 8th, 1940.

"It goes without saying that His Majesty's Government could not contemplate the transfer of their responsibilities of the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a government."

The Congress President

"We are all agreed that there must be full protection of minority rights and interests and this protection should be an agreement between the parties concerned.—It should allay all real anxiety on the part of the British Government when the Congress declares that it contemplates no constitution which does not carry with it the protection of real minorities to their satisfaction."

*To this the Minorities:—*The word of the Congress is different from its deed. Congress talks of goodwill towards minorities, of protecting the minorities and of justice for the minorities. All these were promised at the Round Table Conferences and reiterated before 1937 and how were these promises honoured between 1937-39? In

the breach. Thus, it is not the British Government's anxiety which the congress is requested to allay but that of the minorities, whose anxiety is mounting up hourly and day by day ever since they have experienced the sharp edge of Congress rule. If the Congress is sincerely desirous of guaranteeing, "full protection of the minorities, their rights and interests by agreements between parties concerned without British interference or aid," who is preventing them from doing so? It is not the British Government that is the poison in the pie but, if the Congress will search its own conscience for a truthful reply, it will find that the Muslim League and the other minorities are the real obstacles. This is why today Congress has not the support of a single minority in its policy of Civil Disobedience. If the whole country had reliance on the word of the Congress, neither the police nor the military, neither Churchill nor government could stop the fight for home-rule for a single day and therein lies a complete answer to the above reply of the Congress president to the Viceroy's statement of August 8th, 1940.

Thus goodwill shibboleths and promises of protection for the minorities will not work any longer with the frightened minorities whose distrust can only be allayed in the future by their funda-

mental rights being included in no uncertain terms as part of the constitution of the future. That country is really happy and strong that has kept the minorities happy and contented. *England* has always seen to this in the long process of her constitutional evolution. Again the *Swiss*. They are composed of Germans, French and Italian and of these the German Swiss are in a preponderating majority in Switzerland and yet, unlike the Germans of the Reich, the majority community has come to the conclusion with wisdom and foresight, that liberty of the state and its strength and protection can only be insured by a liberal treatment of the minorities. It is common knowledge that in the last war the Swiss ministry had four members for minorities as against 3 from the majority! Take again the example of *Finland*. The Finns are divided into the Finnish Finns and the Swedish Finns. These have solved the problem in the same way amicably and with results quite honourable to her. May we not take a leaf out of the experiences of these countries? The answer rests with the magnanimity of the whole Hindu community and not the Congress alone, with the whole Mussalman community and not the Muslim League alone. The fact is that the minority problem is a Cat that is to be belled and the

question is, who should do it. If, by chance, the Congress succeeds in belling the creature, who is to stand guarantee that the bell will remain in position. By now, the propensity of the Congress to changing moods, has acquired the eclat of an aphorism or a proverb. Is that why the only influence, that of Great Britain, which stands as a security is sought to be eradicated from our midst before a party agreement is reached? That question may well be asked.

The Indian people need never despair of solving the complicated problem of not only satisfying political minorities but even religious. They are not the only people in the world that have been faced with such a difficult task. If one studies the History of England (Trevelyan Montague), one finds an exemplary effort on the part of the Crown, the Clergy, the Lords and the commons, the press and the public all uniting to solve this problem. England's broad-mindedness, political tact and courage in eradicating step by step all the disabilities with which the Catholics and the Jews of the country suffered from the time of Elizabeth and even before that, form a record of a glorious achievement worthy of emulation by other countries of the world.

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Thus, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth :—
“During the first dozen years—Roman Catholics were not persecuted except by moderate fines irregularly exacted. No one in that period was put to death. . . But when in 1570, the Pope excommunicated the Queen, the second part begins and soon we breathe a harsher air. . . . The Jesuits preached spiritual obedience to the Pope-King who was at war with Elizabeth. Crown and Nation struck back savagely at the missionaries, who were hanged as traitors to the English State. . . . In 1581 Parliament passed a very stringent act making it treason to proselyte or join the Church of Rome. . . . But beyond fines for non-attendance at Church, irregularly levied, Elizabeth did not persecute the Catholic laity for their opinions. It was the missionary priests who suffered.” (Trevelyan).

In the reign of William III and Mary. 1689-1702. “The Toleration Act of 1689, which granted the right of religious worship to Protestant Non-Conformists gave no legal relief to the Roman Catholics, but in practice *“the policy of William and the spirit of the times* secured for them a considerable degree of free religious worship; the infamous penal laws were usually inoperative. Thus, after a thousand years, religion was at length

released from the obligation to practice cruelty on principle, by the admission that it is the incorrigible nature of men to hold different opinions on speculative subjects. On that stubborn fact the modern state like the mediaeval church had broken its teeth in vain."

The Eighteenth Century

"The spirit of religious interference which had been so strong in the 17th century had grown faint in the 18th. The last persecuting laws against the Catholics had been passed in the reign of George I. In 1778 Sir George Saville's Act of 1778 allowed the Roman Catholics to acquire land and abolished the penalty of imprisonment for life imposed on a Catholic priest who celebrated the rites of his church. By 1793 Roman Catholics had been freed from all restraint upon worship, education or acquisition of property."

The Nineteenth Century

"In 1812, the Military and Naval Officers' Oaths Act admitted Catholics to all ranks in the Army and Navy.

"In 1829, the Catholic Emancipation Act was passed. It conferred the franchise upon the Catholics of Great Britain and admitted the

Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland to either House of Parliament. It admitted them to municipal offices and to all judicial offices and to all political offices—the only exceptions being the Ecclesiastical Courts, the office of the Regent, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and the Lord Chancellor.”

“In 1845 an Act was passed admitting Jews to Municipal Corporations.”

“In 1858. The Jewish Relief Act admitted Jews to Parliament.”

“In 1867. The words “On the true-faith of Christian” were omitted in all cases.”

Thus, for the last 75 years England has shown to the world that in the State and its governance no religious minority should suffer any disability. This principle introduced in her own country, was transplanted into India.

If and when India is granted, as one feels that she certainly will be after this war, the status of a Dominion with or without independence with modifications due to the particular problems of this country, then, of all the factors that will thereafter contribute to keep India a contented and useful partner in the British Commonwealth of

Nations, there will be four that will be outstanding :—

- (a) A treaty with Britain whereby not only will India be raised in her political status but likewise in her industrial and economic state.
- (b) A proper adjustment of the financial relations between the two countries.
- (c) The creation of a feeling in both nations of the utmost necessity of interdependence in times of danger when the existence or liberty of either is threatened by an external source of aggression.
- (d) The way in which the British Dominions will react to the changed status of India. This last will be the most difficult that Great Britain will have to solve and it is made the more difficult because of the fact that she has very little influence on most of the Colonies that are like independent nations in whose internal affairs Great Britain dare not interfere.

Many a dark chapter from the History of British Colonial treatment of the Indian people will

have to be erased for the sake of decency and justice; here is a long list of these acts.

The Queensland Act of 1878 in *Australia* (which was the beginning of all Anti-Indian Legislative Acts of Colonies) later to be followed in the same country by the 1901. Immigration Act and still later by another of 1925. In *South Africa* the infamous 1897 Natal Act (Natal which owes all its prosperity to India), followed by another disabling Act the next year and this again by three damaging bills in 1908. Then came the Cape Town Agreement of 1927 heralded by Dr. Malau and the same Minister later on introducing The Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Bill! *New Zealand* not to be outdone by her sister colonies passed in 1920 a bill directed absolutely against Indian Businessmen known as the Immigration Restriction Amendment Act. Here are but a few and they are quite enough. Acts like these will have to be revised in such a manner that future generations of the peoples of this great Commonwealth of nations, known as the British Empire, may look back on them as relics of barbarism of the past, because, if there is going to be a better world in the future after this horrible war, then

such acts have no place in it.

“He is true to God who’s true to man, wherever wrong is done, To the humblest and the weakest, ’neath the all beholding sun, That wrong is also done to us; and they are slaves most base Whose love of right is for themselves and not for all their race.”

James Lowell from “Mankind’s Love of Freedom.”

CONCLUSION

Believing in the truth of the old and hackneyed maxim, "Where there is a will there is a way," firmly believing that more is gained in the world by peaceful negotiations than by threats and force and all those so-called "Non-violent" methods which are really very forceful methods of doing intense harm to the innocents in the country, convinced that it is almost sinful to close all doors for negotiations by obstinate demands of the nature of "Quit India" and "Pakistan" whereby all possibilities of a peaceful approach to a rational understanding become barred for ever, we can still by forming such plans as the one mentioned here succeed in ending this deplorable and unseemly deadlock. We can still live together in peace and harmony. As I write the finishing pages of this book my attention is drawn to a passage in the speech of the President of the Rotary International at Toronto this year—Mr. Tom Davis. So thoroughly do the sentiments therein sponsor my own thoughts and the words are so fully applicable to us that I feign must quote them :—

"To learn how to live together helps us in our community efforts—efforts made by us to cause our communities to be better, happier and more congenial places to live in. It brings us into focus with the thinking which will drive misunderstanding and unfriendliness from our dealings with our neighbours.

Learning how to live together embraces our intercourse with all the peoples of the earth. It will improve our perspective as we analyse the problems of strangling tariffs, of the use of bottle-necks by land and by sea, of intelligent and necessary allocation of raw materials to struggling and starving nations, of eliminating the frictional points which lead to never-ceasing wars—of the steps which must be taken if the world is to live in friendliness and understanding....

"The dreadful holocaust of the present has come from the peoples of the world having failed to learn how to live together. Pessimists predict that the civilization of the democratic nations will be destroyed—will be driven from the face of the earth. If this be true, it will be so for one and only one reason—the failure of civilized human beings to learn how to live together.

Can we forget distinctions in caste and difference in colour? Can we overcome the barrier of language and religion? Can we rid the world of ignorance, intolerance and greed? All this can be done if we learn how to live together. Yet one needs only to glance at the daily papers, to look about us at the marching ranks of our best and finest men and women, to realize how signally we have failed to make the most of living together. It is a tragedy for which we are paying with "blood, sweat and tears" and will pay and must pay."

These above words are great words, they are true words. It may be said fearlessly that the Congress and the Muslim League alike with their policies and their actions are leading the people of India into interminable channels of misery and despair. A certain clash is inevitable not only between Hindus and Muslims but even unwilling minorities, who, although they would like to keep away from all this threatening evil, will get involved all the same. The poor as well as the rich will suffer and God alone knows that the misery of our poor is already great enough in all conscience to be augmented by our own people by our own deeds. Liberty of speech and of the

press has worked havoc by exploiting violent passions on all sides and when we consider that it is only a few that are guiding the many into an abyssmal disaster, it seems a tragedy of the highest order. On these men lies the responsibility of untold suffering of the future of their own countrymen. They are already responsible, with their fantastic hallucinations and interpretation of the meanings of freedom and slavery, for a good deal of unhappiness in this country. Will they go on attempting more or will they cry a halt and ask themselves the question, "Whither?" Political orators that are commanding the ears and attention of vast masses of audiences need not allow their vanity to get the better of their reason and think that the worshipful homage of the rabble of thousands is the correct index of the righteousness of their deeds and their words. So did Alexander the Great, Caesar, Kaiser Wilhelm and now Mussolini and Hitler and yet what good have the words of such men brought to their own or to other countries. The pen and the tongue are mighty weapons for good and evil. There is today in the hearts of the Congress and the Muslim League the most heinous of all passions that mankind can be addict to—it is the passion of hatred

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POLITICAL INSANITY OF INDIA

of men for men—this is true in spite of their professions to the contrary. Hate engenders suspicion, jealousy and murder. Only a few months ago the world has known that Congressmen have gone to prison and already this murder—borne of hate—is being enacted in our town and our villages. If the people get wild as a result of the instigation of their leaders, they must not blame any government placed already in an unprecedentedly dangerous position if it goes beyond ordinary reasonable limits of retaliation. It is the people and the people alone, dupes or otherwise of a few, that suffer over and over again. These many for the sins of a few. What I am writing is portentous.

Let us, therefore, discard disaffection and hatred from our hearts for the sake of our country and aim at unity. Let us replace concord for disagreement, reason for arguments, peaceful methods for threats, unity for disruption, and perhaps we will find that we can still turn a new page in our country's history—a country which we all love so much. Thus alone united, chastened, and refined we will deserve the title of a "Nation," strong and progressive, respected by other nations of the world, taking at last our rightful place

under the sun, proud of that place, proud of our work, and proud of our heritage. All else is confusion.

“Oh ye who seek to solve the knot !
Ye live in God, yet know Him not.
Ye sit upon the river’s brink,
Yet crave in vain a drop to drink.
Ye dwell beside a countless store,
Yet perish hungry at the door.”

From a Persian Parable
